754 278 The finished mixture is a bone-dry and extremely fine powder. It is not immediately put to use, but first tried out on dogs. By leaving out certain ingredients, such as the Mucuna hairs, or by means of other combinations, the poison mixers -- so various informants emphatically affirm -- are able to shorten or lengthen the victim's period of suffering at will or to produce only illness without fatal results. /147/

The medicine sold by the medicine men (because of its tendency to decompose rather rapidly, it does not keep very long) is used in the following ways. Either it is mixed with the food or sprinkled on the head of the bed or the floor -- merely inhaling the stuff, it is said, produces severe illness. Otherwise it is buried near the surface where the victim usually sits. The Ntum, furthermore, mix the poison with the pulverized resin of Albizzia [824] fastigiata Oliv. (esil'ime) and then place in it for five days the [411] pieces of iron with which they load their rifles.

754 674 Concerning the frequency of secret murder by "sorcery" or murder by poisoning, Europeans certainly have no accurate /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ conception, since without further ado we tend to ascribe deaths in the unhealthy regions of tropical Africa to malaria. At the same time, the importance, even for us, of investigating this matter precisely is demonstrated by the following fact. In the small Campo region (disregarding the coastal strip), which has been visited by Whites only in the last few years, no less than six merchants have been poisoned within this short period of time, attempts were made to poison two others.

The effects of the medicine of sorcery, whenever it is a question of poisoning in our /Fig. 51 appears here in the original text/ sense of the term, for instance, poisoning food, depend on its composition. According to descriptions, it produces either terrible pains in the abdomen, as though "fire were penetrating the bowels," or the symptoms are those of blackwater fever, among others, dark urine, or it produces paralysis; thus, there is a great variety of effects so that correct diagnosis is extraordinarily difficult.

278 757 If someone believes he has been poisoned or exposed to poisoning, he employs special antidotes concerning whose value

[Text continues on page 9]

278 I am, of course, unable to judge. /148/

757 In the class of preventives are the leaves of Phyllanthus
[751] gracilipes Pax (esɨ̌ɨ̌ elɨ̌), which are eaten whole or ground. As an antidote for poison in food, the Jaunde use the Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (eyɛ̌) and the Sida acuta L. var. carpinifolia K. Schum. (sɨ̌ɨ̌m IV), the leaves being ground and eaten. In the Fang region a medicine consisting of the following ingredients is used:

1. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abɔ̌mɛ̌dzɨ̌n), the leaves or stalks ground;
2. ripe bananas (adɨ̌ɨ̌le) cut in pieces;
3. Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzɔ̌'le), bark scraped off;
4. Pachylobus macrophyllus Oliv. (andɔ̌lɔ̌'m), bark scraped off;
5. Abrus pulchellus Wall. (ozɛ̌ zɔ̌ge III, eloemɨ̌, "herb to counteract nɨ̌ɨ̌"), leaves ground;
6. Desplatsia dewevrei De Wild et Burs. (afɨ̌nɔ̌k), bark scraped off.

These six ingredients are placed in water, and then the extract is drunk. As an antidote for poisoned bullets, the first three of the above are mixed together, and the mixture is eaten dry.

754 A further use of nɨ̌ɨ̌ is called zɔ̌, from zɔ̌, "leopard," because the whiskers of the leopard are used for it. Just as the leopard tracks its victim /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text/ by means of its whiskers and then treacherously pounces on it, the zɔ̌ thrower wants the same effect. A piece of such a whisker about half a centimeter long is drawn through a fruit of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br. (asɔ̌ɔ̌), Figure 52, to form a small missile which is dipped in the magic medicine and then hurled at the opponent. If it hits the opponent's skin, he is supposed to get sick and die within three to six days. I myself once had an experiment performed with this "poisoning" -- something I felt justified in doing in view of the natives' conviction concerning its purely mystical effectiveness. Naturally the experiment was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, this did not disconcert my informant; he thought that perhaps the medicine he had been given was not the right one. Aside from being put on whiskers,
[674] nɨ̌ɨ̌ is also sprinkled on darts which are shot from ambush when the

754 enemy happens to be dancing with other people at some festivity
779 and in the general excitement does not notice when the missile hits him.

As a preventive against zɔ̃, a medicine is recommended
754 which consists of:
751
278
1. Albizzia fastigiata (E. Mey.) Oliv. (sɔ̃'ne), ground resin;
2. Musanga smithii R. Br., ground involucral leaf (it is slippery); /149/
3. Pouzolzia guineensis Benth, Urticacea (mbɔ̃ané III), its leaves ground;

Fig. 52. Magic Medicine of a Sɔ̃ Thrower, i.e., a Sorcerer or Poisoner.

4. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth. (abɔ̃'mɛ̃dzɔ̃'n), stalk scraped off;
5. Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (evɛ̃), its leaves ground;
6. an unidentifiable Euphorbiacea (ayɔ̃), its leaves ground.

This medicine is added to the red wood which is smeared on
[302] the body as a festive decoration.

2. Medicines for Acquiring Luck and Warding Off Misfortune

777
751

I combine these apparently different medicines because there is a number of them that serve both purposes, the acquisition of good fortune and protection against misfortune. Medicines for warfare, for instance, give one unerring aim as well as protection against bullets. The majority, to be sure, are specific means for obtaining luck or warding off misfortune. The Pangwe designate them as bilɔ́ because they are intended to guard against an illness, for he conceives misfortune or the endangering of his good fortune as an illness. We shall do best to take over this conception and to call these devices "medicines." The medicines for good luck are supposed to bring, above all, wealth and good fortune in love, shooting, setting traps, catching fish, and wrestling. The medicines for wealth (bilɔ́ akɔ̃'ma) are based in part on the

794 one – tends to re-establish this elementary order, it is a rein-
769 statement, a pledge of fertility and power. Apparently the Ngil
[171] resembles a great many other "associations" that have existed in Gabon, especially the Mwiri of the Ngounié people. (2) It con-

2. Cf. A. Maclatchy, "Organisation sociale des populations de la region de Mimongo [Social Organization of the Peoples of the Mimongo Region]," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, I, I, 1945.

stitutes primarily an instrument of struggle against the sorcerers (böyêm), to the extent that they attempt to interfere with the normal order. But it is much more than that: it is the indication of a power superior to that based on kinship, a grouping with a great capacity for control (doubtless the most powerful).

794 The Fang have known other associations of men with spe-
[538] cialized functions – or rather those that create "specialism," such as the akûm, who directs the ceremonies linked with the male dance called makuma. The akûm, who appears also as a sort of chronicler-singer, intervening especially at the time of
[547] funerals and affairs concerning fertility (search for the "sorcerer" responsible for an abortion that might result in permanent sterility.(3)

3. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 78.

ceremonial intended to lift the incest which creates sterile marriages). The akûm in daily life is distinguished from the non-initiates by being subject to a number of special interdicts. He is a "respected, or rather a feared, person," for to him is attributed "great power." "In order to reach this situation he must have been
[535] taught by another akûm; he must have learned the interminable
677 songs that last a whole night long, and then with his own hand kill one of his close relatives...." (4) This brief description is

4. Father L. Marcou, "Les Eki

ascending relative. These /factors/ explain the success and persistence of parallel judicial processes, which are illegal from the point of view of European law, although sometimes tolerated by the administration.

d. Delinquency

If the older people are to be believed, delinquency offenses used to be rare; secret societies with their ordeals and swift punishments prevented delicts by the fear they inspired. At present the jail books and the judicial statistics make it possible to gauge the dimension of the phenomenon, but there is no proof that all delinquents are prosecuted. Some affairs never reach the ears of the law: for instance, fathers of families often deplore the immorality of their sons or their wives, whom they accuse of stealing from them, but since no complaint is lodged, these facts are not recorded.

It is usual in Africa to complain of the rise in juvenile delinquency. The figures at my disposal do show an increase:

	18 yrs.	18 - 20 yrs.	20 - 25 yrs.	25 - 30 yrs.	30 - 35 yrs.	Over 35 yrs.	Total
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1936	3	3.5	19	32	18	25	100
1946	-	10	21	35	15	14	100
1956	7	7.2	25	22	15	24	100

/73/ But this increase is not as great as might have been feared. A study of the statistics allows another conclusion: delinquency is an urban phenomenon. In fact, only people following city occupations are found in the jails. In a region of primarily agricultural activity, a relatively low number of rural delinquents is remarkable. Admittedly we must recognize that in towns law enforcement is easier, also that the more Westernized townsmen do not hesitate so much to make use of the courts. Nevertheless, the differences between the delinquency rates of different occupations deserve to be pointed out, although the figures below are, of course, only approximate. They were obtained by a study of the census returns for three towns in the southern Cameroons and by a comparison of the jail books for the same localities.

CH
463

	Office-holders	Trade Employees	Traders	Butchers	Tailors	Carpenters	Masons	Chauffeurs	Mechanics	Motor Boys	Domestic	Laborers	Chiefs	Planters
Percent of Delinquents	4.8	15	7.5	4	8	5	3	13	10	23	8.3	8	0.8	0.8

Employees in trade, chauffeurs, and apprentice chauffeurs are the social groups with the lowest standard of behavior. The nature of the delicts makes it possible to be precise: in the Beti country of the Cameroons, moral delicts /delit de moeurs/(desertion of the conjugal domicile) make up 47 percent of the cases; theft and swindling, 26 percent; intentional assault and battery come far behind with 16 percent.

These figures enable us to measure the decline of the present-day family. (J.B.)

e. Land Tenure

463 According to early documents land regulations formerly were very simple. There appears to have been no rights over land: "Land belongs to whoever takes it; it has no value. It is not sold, not given as a guarantee for debt, does not enter into inheritance." There is absent not only the notion of private ownership of land but also that of collective ownership: "There is never any conflict between villages over ownership of land.... We often see an outside village insert itself between two groups of dwellings belonging to the selfsame Boulou village." (1) In Fang country in Gabon the situation was

1. Report to the League of Nations, 1922.

similar: "In the Woleu-N'Tem region, tradition is unaware of the idea of ownership even by a village." (2)